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MESSAGE TO KENNEDY

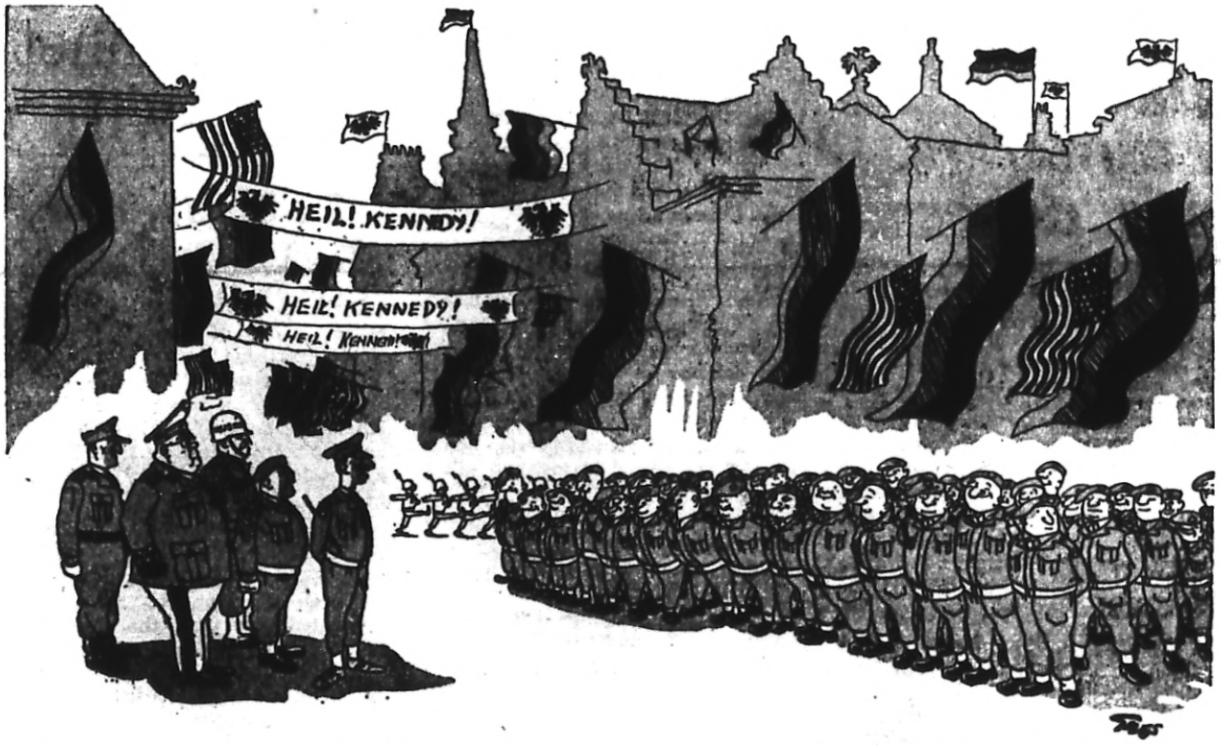
When US President Kennedy visited West Berlin on June 26th, he stopped to look over the State Frontier of the GDR at the Brandenburg Gate. He found himself confronted by a large poster in English, which he read carefully. The poster stated:

In the Agreement of Yalta and Potsdam, President Roosevelt and President Truman undertook:

- **To uproot German militarism and Nazism.**
- **To arrest war criminals and bring them to judgement.**
- **To prevent the rebirth of German militarism.**
- **To ban all militarist and Nazi propaganda.**
- **To ensure that Germany never again endangered her neighbours or world peace.**

These pledges have been fulfilled in the German Democratic Republic.

When will these pledges be fulfilled by West Germany and West Berlin, President Kennedy?



"Herr Major says when Herr Brandt said to President Kennedy: 'We can trust our friends and they can rely on us' he distinctly heard someone in the British sector make a rude noise"

from "Daily Express", London

Mr K. in E. Berlin:
"GDR - Real Economic Miracle"

The German Democratic Republic is the real economic miracle in Europe, and not West Germany, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchov told a mass meeting in East Berlin on July 2nd. Premier Khrushchov had travelled to Berlin to congratulate Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, on his 70th birthday.

In the course of his speech Mr K. urged the conclusion of a nuclear test ban coupled with a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact; the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany; and better relations, particularly trade relations, between West Germany and the Soviet Union.

Here are some of the main points made by the Soviet Premier:

"People in the west talk a lot about the so-called economic miracle in West Germany; but the real economic miracle has been witnessed here in the German Democratic Republic."

Khrushchov then sketched the advantages held in the post-war period by West Germany, including a highly developed heavy industry and big American credits.

"The working people in East Germany started under much more difficult conditions. They had to discover new sources of raw materials, and build a whole new industry. Despite this enormously complicated task, the GDR is today one of the most powerful industrial states of Europe and the world.

"This development was possible because in the GDR the working class had taken control, and because of the powerful socialist community which works together with you.

"We are firmly convinced that in the future the economy of the GDR will see even speedier development; the economy of the GDR now has illimitable reserves of raw materials and industrial reserves in the socialist states. Closer economic cooperation is a mighty factor which speeds up our progress towards our common goal.

"The time is now not far distant when the German Democratic Republic will overtake West Germany in all important economic statistics. I would like to repeat this: The GDR will overtake West Germany, and this time has already dawned. This will be an outstanding contribution of your workers to the struggle of the socialist community to win the economic competition with the capitalist world."

Turning to the question of a German Peace Treaty, Khrushchov stated:

"Eighteen years have passed since the end of the war, and the Soviet people, the German people, and the people of the whole world must do everything possible to heal the wounds and the pain.

"What has to be done today is to clear away the relics of the Second World War and conclude a peace treaty with Germany. What does the Soviet Union propose for this purpose? We propose nothing which would change the conditions and the situation presently existing in Europe, and which resulted from the smashing of nazi Germany. We simply want to fix the existing situation on a legal basis, and thus make it more difficult for the revanchists to launch a new war.

"The Second World War changed the map of Europe, and this has to be taken into consideration. There are some people, short-sighted people, who think that by encouraging the cold war they can force the working people of the GDR to renounce, voluntarily, their socialist state. But the working people of the GDR will never accept again the capitalist yoke. They will never let the Junkers and the capitalists come back.

Turning to the question of nuclear weapons testing, Khrushchov stated:

"Since the western powers reject the conclusion of a treaty banning all nuclear testing, we are ready to reach agreement on the ending of all tests in the atmosphere, in the cosmos, and under water". (This excludes underground tests, main bone of contention at test-ban talks, ed.)

"In connection with the banning of nuclear tests, the Soviet Government is ready to conclude a non-aggression pact between the two main military groupings – the NATO states and the states of the Warsaw Pact. We have suggested such a pact for years: the time has now come to put this proposal into practice."

Speaking at the same meeting, Walter Ulbricht referred to West German support for a NATO atomic fleet and stated:

"Herr Adenauer claims that he and his Hitler generals do not want to control atomic weapons themselves, but only together with other NATO countries. What that really means is that the revanchist politicians wish to get control of the industrial potential, the human potential and the weapons of the other NATO countries ... And yet there are people who believe they can tame the West German militarists by letting them get at atomic weapons within the framework of NATO.

"The policies of Adenauer become even more anti-national if they include such joint control of atomic weapons. The division of Germany can never be overcome with atomic weapons. Atomic weapons can only lead to the destruction of Germany. The reunification of Germany is only possible through a policy of peace, of disarmament, of renouncing atomic weapons and of overcoming German militarism."

Walter Ulbricht also repeated his offer for normal relationships with West Germany. He called for an agreement whereby both German states would respect the other's existence and frontiers, would renounce the use of force in any form, and end all war propaganda. They should also renounce the testing, possession, manufacture, purchase or control of atomic weapons.

Big Birthday Party For Walter Ulbricht

Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, had an all-day birthday party on June 30th, when he reached the age of 70. Among the guests were Nikita Khrushchov, Soviet Prime Minister, and top political leaders from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria.

During the day Walter Ulbricht received congratulations from all sections of the GDR population. At an evening reception, Khrushchov decorated him with the title Hero of the Soviet Union for "his active role in the fight against fascism and his outstanding contribution to peace and socialism". Other distinctions conferred upon Chairman Ulbricht included the Bulgarian Order of Dimitroff, and the GDR title Hero of Labour.

The Kielmansegg Story

What New Nato Commander Wrote in War-Time Book

General Kielmansegg, commander designate of the NATO Land Forces in Central Europe, served throughout the Second World War as a nazi officer.

In 1941, after fighting as a panzer commander in Poland and France, Kielmansegg published a nazi propaganda volume entitled "Tanks Between Warsaw and the Atlantic" (Verlag "Die Wehrmacht", Berlin 1941).

Most of the book is devoted to a blow-by-blow account of his front-line experiences. To give readers some impression of the mental make-up of this man, who will shortly take over command of the main body of NATO ground forces in Europe, including the British Army of the Rhine, we present on these pages, without comment, some passages translated from this book:

It was clear to all of us that Germany was preparing to break the Polish insolence which was already stretching across the frontier. We held our breaths when we heard the Fuehrer's last offer to Poland ... And we would not have been German soldiers had we not wished that Poland would not accept." (p. 13)

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In the night of September 2nd (1939) the partisan war began in full force ... As a result of the quick and tough defence measures of our troops a large number of houses and villages naturally went up in flames, for the thatch roofs caught fire immediately when fired upon." (p. 28—29)

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"In this village of Polichno, incidentally, we took for the first time a measure for directly safeguarding our night's sleep which later became a rule and proved itself very well. All village inhabitants who remained behind were driven together into one large farmyard and locked in for the night, which guaranteed that the night was quiet and not disturbed by shooting." (p. 43)

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"The houses were filthy dirty, it was almost impossible to breathe. This was understandable since nearly all the inhabitants were Jewish. In fact we all could hardly believe that such types — which we knew from the newspaper 'Stürmer' but not from Germany — existed in such numbers and in such perfection — in the negative sense — in Poland." (p. 61)

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"Owing to the whole atmosphere and mood in which I heard the speech of the Fuehrer and also because of its historical importance, I was impressed more deeply than I had ever been before. A glance at the faces of the soldiers showed that this was true not only of me, but of all the others." (p. 74)

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"Twenty-three days, full of the greatest soldierly experience, days of battle against a tough but badly led opponent, days which supplied again for the first time since World War One the brilliant proof of the victorious superiority of eternal German soldierliness." (p. 75)

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"I sat on the chair of the head of a state (Poland, ed.) which we had not simply defeated militarily, but which our victory wiped from the pages of history. This state tried to exist for twenty years after being created artificially, although history had already spoken its damning verdict against it one hundred and fifty years earlier." (p. 81)

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"The Wehrmacht report about the Polish campaign closed with the

General K. — Biographical Notes

General Johann-Adolf Count von Kielmansegg, member of an old Prussian family, is 57. He joined the Reichswehr in 1926, attended the War Academy, and graduated as a member of the general staff.

After the front-line experiences detailed in his book (see this page), Kielmansegg was promoted to the post of colonel on the Operations Department of the Army High Command.

In this position he had a direct hand in the nazi terror campaign against the resistance forces in the occupied countries. Giving evidence at the Nuremberg Trials, SS General Ernst Rode, Himmler's Chief of Staff, stated:

"My task was to allocate the necessary forces to the SS and police officers fighting the bandits, and to ensure that they had sufficient support from Wehrmacht forces. This task entailed direct conversations with the leading officers of the Wehrmacht leadership, that is to say Generals Warlimont, Buttlar, Guderian. Zeitzler, Heusinger and Wenk, and Colonels Kielmansegg and Bonin." (US Document 562, Nuremberg Trials, Vol. IV, p. 522—523)

A few documents signed by Kielmansegg in 1944 have survived the war. They are situation reports which he prepared for Hitler on behalf of the Army High Command. Here are some extracts:

"Situation Report, April 2nd.
France. In Dorgogne Department, 25 terrorist camps destroyed, 12 terrorists shot, many arrests.
(signed) Count von Kielmansegg"

"Situation Report, April 3rd.
France. Train of the 12th SS Panzer Division shot at from village east of Lille. In immediate defence measures, 80 inhabitants shot, 20 arrested.
(signed) Count von Kielmansegg"

"Situation Report, April 15th.
Balkans. As reprisal for attack on the road from Agrinion to Messolongion, 120 Communists were shot or hanged.
(signed) Count von Kielmansegg"

"Situation Report, July 13th.
France. On the orders of the Military Commander, France, 156 terrorists were shot.
(signed) Count von Kielmansegg"

Five years after the end of World War Two, Kielmansegg was back in the military machine as one of the preliminary planning staff for the new West German Wehrmacht. From 1955 to 1958 he headed the West German Liaison Office at NATO HQ in Paris Since then he has commanded the 10th Panzer Grenadier Division.

words: 'The German people can be proud of their Wehrmacht, which looks forward to its further tasks with triumphal confidence.' We were indeed, God knows, full of confidence and full of impatience. We would have liked best to go right on 'triumphing' . . ." (p. 84)

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"Every day the evidence mounted up that the alleged neutrality of Holland and Belgium were really a camouflaged alliance with the western democracies, which only served as a mask for their preparations . . . The glorious Norwegian campaign showed once again the bold resoluteness of the Fuehrer and the achievements of the Wehrmacht." (p. 90)

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"German soldierly ability and organisation had really come so far that it was only necessary to push the proverbial button and hell broke loose. The Army and Luftwaffe stood in silent readiness to begin the counter-attack at any moment the Fuehrer commanded, whenever western blindness would risk the attack on German territory. The battle of France could begin!" (p. 92)

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"At noon the motors of the first German bombers and Stukas drone over Sedan. The squadrons thunder in without pause, more than half a thousand machines blanket the enemy lines and the city of Sedan in the most thorough manner. This grandiose, overwhelming drama lasts four hours, and its effects must be terrible. They prove to be, indeed, the moral effects even more than the material ones. The French artillery is silent." (p. 111)

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"The 13th of May was the proudest day of the division . . . Every soldier was fully conscious of the meaning of this day. Ever since we were assigned to Guderian's corps the decisive character of this breakthrough at Sedan had been hammered into everyone: 'You are the vanguard of the vanguard of the German attack. The eyes of all Germany will be on you!' " (p. 113)

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"France is an empty country . . . this is the most effective evidence and the living explanation of the expressions 'Raum ohne Volk' (Space without People) — France — and 'Volk ohne Raum' (People without Space) — Germany. This is an impossible situation for Germans, who till every inch of their soil." (p. 132—33)

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"We see everywhere on the French maps the words for British Cemetery, Allied Cemetery and National Cemetery, . . . and wherever we look in the area we see the low stone walls or hedges of these graveyards. The words of General Seeckt to us former Reichswehr officiers in the dark days of the past come back to me in view of these stately graveyards: 'Forwards over the graves!'. At this moment we can say with justifiable pride and deep inner joy that we are about to make these words come true in a wonderful way. Forwards! Yes, that is what we want, and we seem to feel the breath of the sea we are striving to reach. When the command to march to the coast reached us at night, it was like a redemption and revelation. We had a feeling such as that which the noble racehorse may have . . . when he is given free rein and races victoriously towards the goal. The divisional command for May 20th begins with the proud and historical words: 'The day of decision has arrived. German panzer troops start their advance to the Atlantic Ocean on the morning of May 20th . . .' The iron resonance of the language of triumph echo from these sentences!" (p. 138—139)

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"These torrents of refugees are often a serious hindrance to the military measures, and, hard as it often is, only ruthless severity avails here to clear the way . . ." (p. 153)

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"One word would suffice to set the Guderian Panzer Group into motion, ready to roll with destructive impetus over every foe which might oppose it. In the lead as ever would be the white oak leaf. We had always led all the others and we would now be in the lead again." (p. 173)

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"In our hearts there was only one thought; that this battle must be the final and decisive one, that the German sword was being drawn to deal the French the death blow." (p. 173)

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"Weygand, amazingly quickly for French circumstances, had used his new knowledge in making the new line named after him. Its system was certainly good, it had only one mistake. On the other side were **German** soldiers . . . This line would probably have held against every other enemy." (p. 176)

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"The feeling of superiority, of human and technical superiority was so strong in us that we were sure that no power in the world could stop us." (p. 176)

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"We were silent. Everyone tried in his own way to master the deep inner emotion which had overcome us. We thought of those who had fallen, dying in their belief in eternal Germany . . . We can report that we have carried out to the full the duty assigned us by history, Germany and the Fuehrer, and we can report that we are equally ready to carry out the only remaining duty separating us from freedom — the destruction of England.

"No recognition, however, can make us prouder than that of the Fuehrer, who said in his great speech to the Reichstag on July 19th: 'In this war the German panzer weapon was introduced into world history.' A part of this panzer weapon was my division, which fought and triumphed in Poland and France." (p. 247—248)

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Poisoning the Airwaves

By Eustace Gordon

The French State Radio Service announced on June 11th that it was cancelling forthwith its regular German-language transmission aimed at people in the German Democratic Republic; the money saved by cutting this and other foreign language programmes will be devoted to improving the domestic TV programme.

The news from Paris is a reminder that Britain's BBC also runs a special service aimed at the German Democratic Republic, a regular daily programme which both in content and form does little credit to Britain.

Since this programme is practically unknown in Britain itself, it may be worth dealing with the subject at some length. The BBC has for many years transmitted overseas programmes both in English and dozens of foreign languages. During the Second World War these foreign language programmes won a very high reputation throughout Europe for their objectivity and up-to-the-minute reporting.

After the end of the war, the "Political Warfare Department", which had supervised the BBC programmes for Europe, was dissolved, and nearly all the foreign-language departments of the BBC returned to their original purpose of supplying foreign listeners with what is technically known as "a projection of Britain", that is to say news and commentaries on British life, thought, and activities, and official or semi-official British views of foreign policy. These foreign-language programmes correspond, by and large, to the foreign language radio transmissions put out by many other states.

One small section of the BBC clung, however, to the "political warfare" traditions of wartime. This is the section responsible for the BBC "Programme for the Soviet Zone of Germany". The name of the programme in itself is a declaration of prejudice; there has been no such entity as the "Soviet Zone of Germany" since the formation of the German Democratic Republic in October 1949; almost all respectable British newspapers, from "The Times" on down, recognise this fact, and refer to this part of Germany either as the GDR or as East Germany, which is a clear, non-discriminatory and understandable geographic description, without propagandistic overtones.

But the title of the programme is not the only objectionable feature, by any means. The whole trend of the transmissions can truly be described as "subversive"; the aim of these programmes put out by the BBC, and financed with funds provided by the British Government, is to undermine and slander the German Democratic Republic. The methods used vary from slander and innuendo to thinly-veiled appeals to the people of the GDR to engage in sabotage and passive resistance.

It is only fair to note that over the years the men and women who concoct the BBC "Programme for the Soviet Zone" have become a little more careful in their ways, possibly as a result of protests against the tone of the programme which have occasionally been made by MPs and others. On June 6th 1958, a BBC commentator referred to the Government of the GDR as "idlers and unscrupulous blackguards", and on June 17th 1958, the leading BBC speaker Lindley Fraser called the GDR Government "a contemptible gang" (verächtliche Rotte). Such phrases have become rarer today, though the announcers often cosily use the invidious name "Spitzbart" (Goatee), when referring to Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the GDR, and address their listeners in the GDR as "dear opponents of Spitzbart" (April 19th 1963).

The appeals to sabotage production have also become somewhat more carefully worded. On June 20th 1958, this BBC programme broadcast a very thinly disguised call for passive resistance, wrapped up as the comment on a listener's letter. Here is the relevant passage:

"From London we cannot give you any advice on what you should do. Only you in the Zone can decide what form of resistance is possible ... With that definition I have defined our attitude to the following letter:

'Every decent German has the unavoidable duty of practicing passive resistance against the East Zonal slave-drivers.'

"As I have already said, dear listeners, we can give you no advice on the possibly fateful decision as to whether you should practice any form of resistance. This is a personal question for your conscience."

Today similar appeals are made even more indirectly, as the following example from the programme of April 4th 1963 will show. Commentator Austin Harrison, answering an alleged reader's letter asking what workers in the GDR should do, stated:

"Why do not the workers elect (to the committees of the FDGB — Free German Trade Union Federation, EG.) colleagues who can really represent them? If the workers would only show more solidarity they could get real workers' representatives, at least on the lower levels of the FDGB; the FDGB would then slowly change from a tool of the Socialist Unity Party into a representative organisation of the working class. This is not an easy solution, but I believe it is the only practical way."

Members of the British Labour Party will probably be interested to know of the tendentious manner in which Labour Party views and decisions are presented on this BBC programme. Since Mr Harold Wilson made a number of statements this spring urging "a certain measure of recognition" for the GDR, the BBC programme "for the Soviet Zone" has been busy falsifying his statements.

On May 10th 1963, for instance, replying to a listener's letter, Mr Austin Harrison stated:

I understand your bitterness and hopelessness, dear correspondent. But the Wilson affair is no affair at all when you know the facts. Wilson, in accordance with the decisions of the Labour Party Conference, has said that a certain degree of de facto recognition of Pankow (the GDR, EG.) could be considered in return for more humane conditions in Ulbricht Germany, for instance the abolition of the Berlin Wall."

This standard reply, repeated in many other transmissions, is a deliberate falsification. The resolution of the British Labour Party Conference of October 4th 1961 suggested "a measure of de facto recognition" for the GDR; but it did not link this in any way with the State Frontier of the GDR in Berlin. Mr Harold Wilson, in his various statements on the subject, has also

not linked the two themes, or coupled the demand for recognition with "conditions in Ulbricht Germany".

Referring to the same subject on April 19th, the same commentator said:

"Let me mention two further points: 1. Even though the Labour Party went on record in 1961 for a certain degree of de facto recognition of Pankow, one does not need to assume that this is the opinion of all members of the Party. 2. If the Labour Party wins the next election, it is quite possible that the Party will change its views on Ulbricht Germany"

In a short article like this it is impossible to give the full flavour of this unpleasant programme. I often listen to it, and I would like to give you my own opinion:

In both form and content these transmissions go far beyond the bounds of normal news and comment, and might well be regarded as an intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. They are certainly hard to reconcile with the proud slogan of the BBC — "Nation Shall Speak Peace Unto Nation".

Writer, Spain Vet Dies

Bodo Uhse, 59, anti-fascist novelist and editor, died suddenly of apoplexy of the brain on July 2nd in East Berlin.

The son of a right-wing German officer, Uhse became active in the left-wing movement in pre-war Germany before Hitler seized power, when he was forced into exile. After two years in Spain as journalist and soldier in the International Brigades, he spent the war years in Mexico. His best-known works are the anti-fascist novels "Lieutenant Bertram" and "The Patriots".

Radios for Cuba

The German Democratic Republic will export 25,000 transistor radio sets to Cuba this year, according to a trade agreement signed in early July in Havana. In 1964, it will also supply Cuba with four 20 kilowatt short wave transmitters for commercial use.

Ping-Pong Pangs

West Germany will no longer be the site of the European table tennis junior championships, according to a decision by the International Table Tennis Federation. The West German Government had refused to permit participation by contestants from the German Democratic Republic.

U-Boat Limit Torpedoed

The West German Defence Ministry announced on July 3rd that it was scheduling a fleet of U-boats weighing up to 1000 tons each. This would break one more huge gap in the list of pledges made by West Germany in 1954 so that it could join NATO and build its own armed forces.

In a "trial balloon" interview only a few days earlier, Admiral Karl-Adolf Zenker, West German Navy chief, had called for heavier submarines, to be used in "the deeper waters of the Baltic Sea". The latest Defence Ministry statement admits that a request to make 1000 ton U-boats had already been submitted to the Western European Union.

The original treaty limit for West German U-boats was 350 tons, but the Western European Union had already raised the limit to 450 tons last October.

In the "Revised Brussels Treaty" of October 1954 (also known as the Paris Agreement), Chancellor Adenauer pledged formally that "the Federal Republic of Germany undertakes not to manufacture in its territory atomic, biological or chemical weapons" or weapons in an attached list, including:

1. Guided and long-distance missiles
2. Warships over 3000 tons
3. U-boats over 350 tons
4. Bomber aircraft for strategic purposes
5. Influence and magnetic mines

The first break in this pledge came in April 1958, when the Western European Union permitted West German anti-tank missiles. In 1959 this was extended to include the manufacture of Hawk missiles and several forms of surface-air and air-air missiles.

In December 1960, West Germany agreed with NATO on the production of a large air fleet of F-104 G Starfighter planes. A multi-purpose plane, the Starfighter is equipped to carry A-bombs as far as the Soviet Union, thus putting it into the prohibited category of strategic bomber aircraft. The planes are now being produced by the World War Two firms of Dornier, Heinkel, Messerschmitt and Focke-Wulf.

On May 24th 1961 the Western European Union annulled two more provisions of Adenauer's pledge by permitting West Germany to manufacture influence mines and to launch warships up to 6000 tons. In reference to this latter decision, Mr Frank Allaun (Labour, Salford East) stated in the House of Commons:

"The purpose of increasing the size of these vessels, in my view, is so that they can carry missiles with nuclear warheads ... Step by step, every restriction on the regrowth of German militarism and German military might is being lifted."

So far as is definitely known, West Germany has not yet begun production of atomic, biological or chemical weapons on its own territory, but it is accepted as common knowledge that she is participating with money, technical know-how and scientific staff in the joint development of atomic weapons with France. The recently-signed Bonn-Paris Pact is expected to increase this cooperation greatly. And West Germany is currently trying in every way possible to attain some form of control over atomic weapons, either within NATO or otherwise.

If West Germany is able to gain permission to manufacture atomic weapons or their parts within the framework of NATO, this will mean the complete nullification of the Revised Brussels Treaty, since all limitations in that treaty except those dealing with the "ABC weapons" have already been altered or dropped entirely.

Realistic Lords

A number of members of the British House of Lords called for a realistic approach to the German question in the course of a foreign affairs debate on June 26th. Lord Chorley, Labour, said that one of the first steps which would have to be taken in regard to Germany "is to recognise the de facto existence of the East German Government".

Lord Sandwich, Conservative, formerly Viscount Hinchingbrooke, urged that British troops should be withdrawn form West Berlin. Lord Henderson, Labour, stated: "It cannot be doubted that the original concept of the multilateral force was primarily to satisfy (West) Germany's ambition to be an associate member of the western nuclear club, and this gives rise to a fear, not only in the eastern world, but also in parts of the west, that a finger on the safety catch might in time become a finger on the trigger."

Book Reviews

One Useful - One Useless

"Germany's Other Half — A Journalist's Appraisal of East Germany", by Franz von Nesselrode. Abelard Schuman, London, 21s: New York $5.00.

In the first pages of his book, Mr Nesselrode, an American journalist, states:

"Any attempt to present a factual and unbiased account of conditions in the DDR is greatly handicapped from the start. Too many people still believe that books and articles about that country must be either pro or con. The writer who sets out to do a book neither for nor against the East German regime must be prepared for vituperation from both sides. And he inevitably will have to run the gauntlet of indignant critics brandishing clubs from the right, the left, and the centre."

I suppose I must be classified as a critic of the left, but I would like to assure Mr Nesselrode that his book neither makes me brandish a club, nor feel vituperative.

There have not been many books on the general market in the western world dealing with the German Democratic Republic; but nearly all of them so far have been so biased and inaccurate that they could not be taken seriously. Mr Nesselrode's book is a pleasant exception. He dislikes quite a lot of features in the GDR, and does not hesitate to say so; but he has a great plus in his favour — he actually paid a visit to the GDR before writing his book, and he notes down both the features which he disliked and those which he liked.

It would be easy to conduct a polemic with the writer on many of his conclusions and comments; but by and large, his facts are accurate. The only exceptions that I noted in a careful reading were a couple of minor errors of dating.

"Germany's Other Half" is very much a journalist's book, consisting in the main of a chatty day-to-day account of a trip through the GDR in autumn 1961. Like any good journalism, it is easy to read, and gives you plenty of facts in an easily digestible form. Much of the information in the book will be familiar to readers of GERMAN REPORT, because Mr Nesselrode visited the growing industrial centres, the cooperative farms, and the rebuilt cities which we have been writing about for the past eleven years.

Some of his reports will, however, be of value, because he came to the GDR in the position of an outsider looking in, whereas we inevitably sometimes cannot see the wood for the trees.

Perhaps the most valuable sections of this book, which should be read, particularly by people who still regard the GDR as a vague grey area somewhere east of the River Elbe, are his two first chapters, entitled "The DDR is Here to Stay" and "The DDR: A Primer of Basic Facts".

In these two chapters he decribes what the GDR is (Mr Nesselrode prefers to use the German, rather than the English abbreviation for German Democratic Republic), and tells why the "image" of the GDR abroad is so very misty. Let me quote a few lines:

"A great deal is being published about East Germany almost daily in the world press these days, but the picture that emerges is one so blurred by propagandistic design, wishful thinking, slanting of news and malicious comment that it conjures up a completely distorted view . . .

"Virtually all the news about East Germany available to public opinion in the West comes from either one of two tainted sources. One is the Bonn Government (and in particular its "Ministry of All-German Affairs"), which is an interested party in the case, preoccupied with cold war propaganda and desperately intent on preventing the DDR from gaining international recognition in any form. The other is West Berlin, which in recent years has been a hotbed of prejudice, rumour-mongering and all sorts of 'intelligence' activities, and which therefore appears as about the most unsuitable place for objective reporting one can think of."

Summing up, this is not the definitive book on the GDR which I hope will appear one day; but it is a useful book which deserves a wide circulation.

"City on Leave — A History of Berlin 1945—1962" by Philip Windsor. Chatto & Windus, London, 25s.

A good historical study of the development of the extremely complicated and tricky Berlin problem since 1945 would be a godsend; but this is definitely not such a book.

I would not object if the author presented the facts on the post-war history of Berlin with a modicum of fairness, and then drew conclusions with which one could argue; but Mr Windsor has presented the facts of the past eighteen years one-sidedly and often inaccurately, and then, oddly enough, drawn some quite sensible conclusions. His main conclusion, in fact, is eminently sensible: there can be little hope of a settlement of the Berlin question until the West realises that the GDR is here to stay, and has to be recognised.

But before reaching this conclusion, Mr Windsor presents his readers with 250 pages of turgid prose, pages which are not only badly written but also very often wrong.

I feared the worst as soon as I looked through the list of sources given by the author at the beginning and end of his book. Any competent historian would obviously have to consult authorities in both East and West Berlin on the modern history of the city, and read the main books giving both sides of the argument; but Mr Windsor lists a mass of West Berlin informants, and not a single one from East Berlin; he quotes 37 books which he consulted, of which only one, a very minor work, was published in East Berlin.

As a result, the Western powers and the West Berlin authorities emerge as knights in shining armour, and the Soviet Union and the GDR authorities are presented not only as devils, but as devils who apparently do everything out of a sheer desire to be nasty.

Apart from this bias, which affects the whole course of what claims to be a serious historical study, there are plenty of errors of plain fact. Mr Windsor shows a touching tendency to present as fact odd rumours which he has found reported in western newspapers; there is one striking instance on page 232 of his book, where he reports that GDR wages were going to be cut by 50% early in 1961. No such cut, of course, was ever even contemplated.

Luckily, perhaps, in view of the many errors, this book is eminently unreadable. Many of the episodes in Berlin's post-war history are confusing enough in themselves, and when they are badly described they become quite baffling. I happen to have lived through most of the events described in the book, on the spot in Berlin, but even I lost the thread of Mr Windsor's account for whole pages at a time.

Not to buy this book is a good way to save yourself 25 shillings.

John Peet

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

By John Peet

President Kennedy's visit to West Germany, and in particular to West Berlin, got such a lot of publicity in the world press that we did not need to give it much space in GERMAN REPORT, but I would like to make two marginal comments. Watching Kennedy's trip round West Berlin, partly on the TV screen and partly face-to-face across Checkpoint Charlie on the GDR frontier, I was intrigued by a little private fight which was going on right next to the President. The two people concerned in this continuing semi-public scuffle were Willy Brandt, Social Democratic Lord Mayor of West Berlin, and Konrad Adenauer, Christian Democratic Chancellor of West Germany.

Glory

Both of them wanted desperately to bask in Kennedy's reflected glory, and the protocol officers managing the trip (which often looked as though Kennedy was running for West Berlin Mayor, and not paying a state visit), had carefully arranged that in all public appearances, Brandt should appear on Kennedy's right hand, and Adenauer on his left hand.

From the very beginning of the trip it was clear that Brandt was not going to be content with just 50% of any reflected glory which might be available; taking full advantage of his huskiness, and the fact that he is nearly 40 years younger than Adenauer, he managed to elbow the old man out of the way, and out of the cameras, and claim John F. Kennedy nearly entirely for himself.

For the first time in my life I could almost feel sorry for Adenauer as he tried to edge his way up beside the president like a diffident queue jumper, but nearly always in vain.

The other little point was the odd difference in the tone and contents of the statements that Kennedy made in two big speeches in West Berlin only about two hours apart. Addressing a big public meeting, he yelled in best rabble-rousing style that it was impossible to work together with the Communists; two hours later, in the calmer atmosphere of an academic ceremony at the West Berlin University, he turned a double flip, and said: "We are not hostile to any people or system ... our efforts for a real settlement must continue ... I believe in the great powers working together to save the human race."

Since President Kennedy read both speeches from prepared manuscripts, it is perhaps charitable to conclude that they had been written by different script-writers and never coordinated.

In this connection, it is instructive to read what the "New York Herald Tribune" wrote about Kennedy's visit on June 28th: "Mr Kennedy's crowds in Frankfurt and Berlin were hard and frantic young mobs seething at a stage door and yelling for a leader ... When Mr Kennedy moved forward and faced the Germans, he seemed delighted and at the same time a little out of his depth. He tried to give the Germans what they wanted ... The crowd loved it all, hard and soft. He was the man of their hour, and yet there was an unreality about the whole effect."

Agriculturist?

A bit of a controversy has arisen recently amongst translators and interpreters in the German Democratic Republic who work in the English language: are the people who work the land in the GDR best described in English as "peasants" or as "farmers"?

The controversy is not as abstruse as you might think, for the word keeps on cropping up, not only in articles and speeches about agricultural problems, but in other contexts, too, since the social system in the GDR is officially described as a "workers' und peasants' state"; or should we say "workers' and farmers' state"?

Hitherto, GERMAN REPORT has generally called the country population peasants, but after listening to the arguments I feel that there is a quite a lot to be said for the other point of view. The supporters of "farmer" say with some justice that the word peasant conjures up a picture of a semi-illiterate rural population living on the poverty line; and this is no longer in any way true of the people who run the agricultural cooperatives of the GDR.

Comments from readers, both inside the GDR and in the world at large, would be appreciated.

* * *

When I was getting ready to go to the GDR government reception on June 30th to celebrate Walter Ulbricht's 70th birthday, my son David, aged 4, on his way to bed, asked where I was off to. I told him I was going to Ulbricht's birthday party. "Don't stay for the games, daddy; come home as soon as you have had the cake," he said.

I rather liked this childish picture of a lot of serious and overworked statesmen cutting a huge cake with 70 candles on it, and then putting on paper hats and playing Postman's Knock. Khrushchov at least would have joined in a round of birthday games with bouncing enthusiasm. But I have to report that the reception was, like most official affairs in most countries, rather heavy and serious.

At all such occasions, I find myself wondering how the guests of honour manage to stand for so long, while the speeches are made and the toasts are exchanged. We journalists can generally bob out and rest our tired legs while telephoning, or at least lean on the edge of a table; but the top people do not generally have a chance to take it easy.

Even at the most official occasions, however, there is generally some light touch, particularly if Khrushchov is around. At the Ulbricht party this moment came when he awarded Chairman Ulbricht the title and medal "Hero of the Soviet Union". I was standing about two yards away from Khrushchov and Ulbricht, and watched with fascination how the Soviet Prime Minister struggled to get the pin of the medal through the tough material of Chairman Ulbricht's suit. Apparently the medal hangs on a short blunt bar, held in place by a screw, and the blunt end simply would not go through the coat. Khrushchov pushed and heaved, and finally managed to get it through. There might have been an awkward pause in the ceremonial while the struggle went on, but Khrushchov neatly bridged it by making exaggerated gestures as though he were hammering in a nail, and muttering loudly: "Tough, just like Walter".

East may be east, and west west, but one of the presents that Walter Ulbricht received for his 70th birthday was a rocking chair.

Gap

Many of our readers complain that they have too much to read anyway. To help them, and to help us get a holiday, there will be a slight gap in the publication of this paper. The next issue will appear in early August.

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